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Contents

Editors' Note

The inaugural volume of *denCITY: Journal of Undergraduate Urban Studies*, demonstrates the interdisciplinary nature of the urban studies discipline. Some of the articles that are published in this journal examine topics that range from the evolution of Hamilton, Ontario into its current post-industrial moment, to the significance of Toronto's film industry, and the practice of neighbourhood revitalization and gentrification as instances of recolonization. Other works in this journal study how gendered service workers relate to their bodies, labour, and immediate environment, as well as the realization of Puritan values of social control and homogeneity in real and imagined urban spaces.

As city dwellers, the various shades of urbanism are some of the most ubiquitous facets of our lives. Beyond its role as a mere container or backdrop, though, the city is a dynamic subject in and of itself. As *denCITY* continues to evolve in subsequent years, we hope that this volume may be a catalyst for contentious, difficult, and rewarding discussions about the features of urban life.

denCITY Editorial Board
August 2017

From Steel City to Art City: Hamilton from 1970 to Present

Labiba Chowdhury

Known as "Steel City," Hamilton enjoyed economic success from the early ninteenth to the first half of the twentieth century. The city's industrial prowess was centred around its steel industry, which was the largest in Canada at the time. During the latter part of Hamilton's industrial heyday, after World War II, Hamilton benefitted from a strong welfare state which prioritized social services, such as housing, public health, social security, and pensions, as well as a strong union presence that demanded recognition for workers' rights and proper wages. In 1965, Hamilton had a 96% employment rate, with very few people on welfare (Russumanno, 2015). However, since the 1970s, with the advent of deindustrialization and neoliberal policies, Hamilton experienced many social, economic and political changes. Although not as badly affected as many of its American rust belt counterparts, Hamilton's central city was especially impacted, as poverty, income inequality, suburbanization, and socio-spatial polarization increased. While the surge in these factors is partly motivated by deindustrialization and job loss, it is also due to the implementation of neoliberal policies and ideas. Since the beginning of deindustrialization, Hamilton city officials have attempted to reform Hamilton's public image from a failing industrial centre towards one that presents a brighter future for post-industrialism. However, Hamilton has only recently begun to take on the shape of a post-industrial city, partially due to its proximity to Toronto, and partially as a result of encumbering municipal and provincial policies.

Deindustrialization: Causes and Consequences

In the second half of the twentieth century, globalization, the decreasing demand for Canadian steel, and laissez-faire policies promoting free trade (such as those embodied by NAFTA), encouraged manufacturers in many North American industrial cities, including Hamilton, to relocate elsewhere, seeking cheaper labour (Jacobs, 2009). This deindustrialization greatly impacted Hamilton, with many factories downsizing or shutting down production, leading to a decrease in well-paid, unionized manufacturing jobs. The proportion of Hamilton's labour force employed in manufacturing and construction, fell from a high of 58% in

1

1951 to a low of 12% in 2013, when all facilities owned and operated by Stelco, once one of the two biggest employers in the city, permanently closed (Harris *et al*.., 2015). It is important to note, however, that despite the decrease of jobs, the manufacturing companies themselves continued to be profitable (Neumann, 2016). The departure of manufacturing was exacerbated by the simultaneous exodus of services, businesses, and retail from the city centre. As a result of these changes, Hamilton suffered from extreme unemployment, underemployment, reductions in income, increases in social assistance, and a rise in homelessness (Anisef *et al*.., 2014).

While the decline and land abandonment in Hamilton has not been as pronounced as in many American industrial cities, the socio-economic impacts of deindustrialization have heavily impacted the central city. Harris *et al*.. (2015) demonstrate that income inequality in Hamilton increased more rapidly since 1970 than in most other Canadian Metropolitan Areas (CMA). In 1980, Hamilton possessed the lowest income inequality amongst the twelve largest CMAs in Canada, whereas it held the fourth highest in 2000. A disproportionate number of people are dependent on welfare and government services, and housing poverty rivals that of larger cities like Toronto and Vancouver, where housing is much more expensive (Harris *et al*., 2015).

Socio-Spatial Polarization: Inner City Poverty and Suburban Affluence

Rising income inequality has not affected all Hamiltonian neighbourhoods equally. Socio-spatial polarization of the landscape based on income has been occurring in most Canadian cities, where marked segregation of the poor can be identified, with drastic reductions in middle-income areas (Russumanno, 2015). While most Canadian cities experiencing this, like Toronto, see significant inner city gentrification, and concentration of the poor in the inner suburbs, Hamilton's experience of socio-spatial polarization conforms to the American rust belt model of inner city poverty and suburban affluence (Harris *et al*., 2015). In 2010, the average household income in the central city was 76.5% of the CMA average, which was the third lowest out of the twenty-two largest CMAs nationwide, and contains higher levels of poverty, visible minorities, indigenous people, recent immigrants, refugees, working poor, and consumer debt (Harris *et al*., 2015).

Hamilton's socio-spatial polarization through inner city decline and suburban prosperity is largely due to historical settlement patterns. The central city was geographically bounded by Lake Ontario to

the north, and the Niagara Escarpment to the south. Industrial development thus concentrated in the city core, between the downtown and the shoreline (Russumanno, 2015). As with any major industrial centre, the central city experienced adverse environmental effects during industrialization. Westerly winds brought pollution and dirt from the industrial centre to the east side of the town, with the lower air quality in the east making it affordable to working class residents. The western and southern suburbs, due to their relatively better air quality, housed the upper class. Despite this, until the 1970s, the majority of neighbourhoods in both the central city and the suburbs were middle-class (Harris *et al.*, 2015).

Notwithstanding the fact that many of the adverse environmental issues had since waned, the historical perceptions of the western suburbs as clean, and the perception of the central city and, to an extent, the eastern suburbs as industrial, many high-income residents chose to locate themselves in the western suburbs. Wakefield and McMullan (2005) discuss the ways in which landscapes take on positive or negative attributes based on the wider social, cultural and political processes that influence landscapes. Until the 1960s, industrialization was perceived as a symbol of pride, wealth, and success, but today industrial landscapes are associated with declining economic bases, pollution, and poor health, while post-industrial landscapes are associated with good health, consumption, and leisure. As demonstrated by Wakefield and McMullan (2005), Hamilton suburban residents associate the central city with the similar feelings of unhealthiness and undesirability commonly associated with industrial landscapes today, even though pollution controls and manufacturing decline have eliminated the environmental threats that once existed. On the contrary, suburban landscapes are viewed as separate from the industrial legacy of Hamilton. The same research, however, also shows that there is a discrepancy between the outsider and insider perceptions of the central city. While residents of the central city cite problems with their neighbourhoods, particularly with regards to infrastructure maintenance, they do not view their neighbourhoods as unhealthy. Landscapes can function as a source of identity and security, and central city residents demonstrate strong relationships with their neighbourhoods and report having robust networks within them (Wakefield and McMullan, 2005).

Another explanation for the expansion of the western suburbs is its relative proximity to Toronto, which, among other factors, enabled easy commuting. Some scholars place Toronto's rapid and vast econom-

ic growth as being key to Hamilton's relative success compared to American rust belt cities. The opportunities and allure of Toronto attracted many there for work, but the high housing market has priced them out of homes in the City of Toronto proper, and forced them to look to the broader commutershed, such as Hamilton's western suburbs (Russumanno, 2015).

Amalgamation: Consolidation and Division

These suburbs initially developed as separate jurisdictions from the central city. The movement of wealth and a substantial tax base from the central city to the surrounding suburbs resulted in an extensive period of urban neglect and socio-economic disparities between the inner city and suburbs as the city became financially constrained (Harris *et al.*, 2015). In 2001, on the initiative of the province, Hamilton was amalgamated with the surrounding suburbs of Wentworth, Flamborough, Dundas, Ancaster, Stoney Creek and Glenbrook to create the new city of Hamilton. This was done in order to increase the city's fleeting tax base, encourage city and regional investment, create cost savings, and increase efficiency to end fragmentation and competition between municipalities (Spicer, 2012). Many scholars point to the provincial controls in Canada that govern municipal fragmentation as being instrumental in avoiding largescale population decline and disinvestment in Canadian cities. In American rust belt cities such as Detroit, a strong ethos of localism in the suburbs as well the domination of state legislatures by rural white perspectives who are hostile to the predominantly African American inner cities, has prevented amalgamation, and, consequently, a consolidation of tax base from taking place. Hackworth (2016) asserts that one of the primary reasons consolidation has been easier in Canada is due to the relative lack of a contentious history of racial divisions and antagonism. This lack of contentious history of racial divisions is not attributed to fewer historically racist sentiments, but rather to racist immigration policies that, until very recently, prevented visible minorities from entering and living in Canada (Hackworth, 2016).

Despite this, the amalgamation process for Hamilton was vigorously resisted by the suburban residents who wanted to maintain their status as autonomous communities and argued in favour of the continuation of regional government. They argued that big city governments are inefficient, unresponsive, and cumbersome (Spicer, 2012). Negative associations with Hamilton's industrial legacy likely also played a part in this decision. This demonstrates that an ethos of localism exists in Cana-

da as well, but, unlike in the United States, provincial governments have exercised their authority to force amalgamation, being less constrained by a racialized understanding of inner cities.

Since amalgamation, although the tax base for city of Hamilton has increased, politics continue to be sharply divided along central city and suburban lines. In the newly amalgamated Hamilton City Council, the suburbs and the central city hold roughly the same number of seats (Spicer, 2012). Councillors from amalgamated areas tend to vote together on issues while central city councillors have less cohesion, resulting in the prioritization of lower taxes and local community control, instead of investment in urban initiatives such as transportation planning or city development. Negative sentiments towards amalgamation persist to this day, as the successful mayoral candidate of the 2010 election, Bob Bratina, ran on a platform of taking up de-amalgamation with the provincial government because "it wasn't working for anyone," although he was unsuccessful (Spicer, 2012).

Post-Industrialism: Early Attempts and Failures

Numerous solutions have been proposed and implemented in Hamilton since the 1970s to deal with perceived and real problems caused by deindustrialization. Beginning in the late 1960s, many city officials envisioned Hamilton as a future post-industrial landscape, whereby the economy should shift from the production of goods to the provision of services (Neumann, 2016). Post-industrial policies that were implemented to perceived success in other industrial centres, such as Pittsburgh, were proposed and occasionally implemented. These policies supported downtown renewal, diversification of regional economies, public-private partnerships, and transitioning the industrial economy from heavy industry to finance, services, and research (Neumann, 2016). The previously discussed perspectives of industrial centres as unhealthy, and post-industrial centres as rejuvenating, guided these policies. As a result, there were many short-sighted downtown rejuvenation projects, such as the "Civic Squares" project (1970s), the "Central Area Plan" (1980s) and the "Downtown Action Plan" (1990s). Officials also tried to attract businesses and land developers by offering increased tax breaks, but without much success (Russumanno, 2015). In addition, the post-industrial aspirations of Hamilton were restricted by federal and provincial regulations. For example, in order to attract investment, municipal officials desired to create public subsidies for developers, but were unable to do so due to provincial regulations regarding financial incentives for private developers (Neumann, 2016).

Pursuing a post-industrial vision, Hamilton city officials wished to restructure the perception of Hamilton as a centre for education, health, services, transportation, and the arts (Russumanno, 2015). The presence and influence of major institutions such as McMaster University as well as numerous hospitals also contributed to Hamilton's economy by providing stable and sustained employment. These institutions continue to grow, such as McMaster, which has a current full-time enrolment of about 26,000 students (Harris *et al.*, 2015).

Since the 1970s, there has been an increase in neoliberal policies that promoted ideas of privatization, deregulation, reduction in welfare policies, and downloading of responsibilities from the federal to the provincial level, and from the province to local governments (Walks, 2009). The Ontario provincial government, during Mike Harris's premiership (1995-2002), imposed significant neoliberal restructuring and downloading by decreasing social programming, reducing income taxes, introducing workfare programs, eliminating industrial assistance and job training programs, reducing public sector jobs, reducing budgets for infrastructure developments, and attempting to privatize provincially owned enterprises (Neumann, 2016). The "growth coalition," composed of local political and business elites united for the shared objective of growth, is a group that has significant sway over the planning of a landscape, and also supports these neoliberal policies. Often aimed at improving conditions after deindustrialization, these policies tend to have the opposite effect of exacerbating problems related to employment, housing, and social services as social welfare objectives become replaced with corporate objectives. These policies have significantly contributed to the increased income inequality of Hamilton (Russumanno, 2015).

Making a Creative City: Winners and Losers

Beginning in the twenty-first century, Hamilton has increasingly taken the post-industrial shape that many city officials have desired for the past few decades (Neumann, 2016). There has recently been an influx of artists to the city, many of whom are motivated by the affordable housing costs from years of urban decay (Harris *et al.*, 2015). These new arrivals to the city are being welcomed by politicians and the media alike, who are pointing to this influx as a sign of a revitalized and rejuvenated inner city. *The Huffington Post* recently released an article claiming that Hamilton is poised to be Toronto's "Brooklyn." The slogan "art is the new steel," used by much of the Hamiltonian media, politicians, and public, captures this change in thinking (Anisef *et al.*, 2014).

The welcoming of these artists is tied to theories surrounding the 'Creative City,' a term coined by Richard Florida, which is becoming an increasingly prevalent way of thinking about urban development. This theory focuses on strategies of attracting workers from creative or knowledge economies, as well as international capital, in accordance with prevalent neoliberal discourse. The Creative City discourse encourages the building of infrastructure and services that "creative" professionals supposedly find appealing, such as cafés, entertainment districts, and street festivals. Art is also valued due to its perceived ability to encourage tourism (Russumanno, 2015). The general belief among the political and economic elite of the city is that adapting to and complying with neoliberal post-industrial landscapes presents the only solution for future growth and revitalization. At the regional level, politicians, planners, and suburban residents have actively challenged the dominant image of Hamilton as unhealthy and have attempted to redefine it as an inviting place to live (Russumanno, 2015).

The city has been actively pursuing creative city development, and have drafted a series of policies and planning documents emphasizing the need to rejuvenate Hamilton's cultural economy. Planners increasingly see the central city as an integral place to attract investment. The "Downtown Secondary Master Plan" (2004), and the "City of Hamilton Economic Development Strategy" (2010) both emphasize the revitalization of the central city and the creation of urban environments that are safe and healthy places to "live, work and play," using rhetoric similar to Florida's creative cities theory (Russumanno, 2015). In 2010, Hamilton created a neighbourhood development strategy, which targeted funds and staff resources to select low income neighbourhoods, with the goal of rehabilitating disenfranchised areas. Although it is too early to discuss results, initial reports show certain successes and downsides. While residents are getting access to social and community services, as well as infrastructure investment, there has also been an influx in corporate owners, which are supporting increases in commercial rents (Harris *et al.*, 2015).

The increased attention to Hamilton's central city is likely connected to Hamilton's proximity to Toronto. While previously, only the western suburbs contained commuters from Toronto, the continuous and steady expansion of the GTA and increasingly unaffordable housing prices in Toronto, has resulted in Hamilton's central city being included as a consideration for housing commuters to Toronto. A planned commuter rail station just north of Hamilton's downtown with all day ser-

vice to downtown Toronto will likely further encourage movement to the area (Harris *et al.* 2015).

Anisef *et al.*, (2014) view the recent strategies and developments that are resulting in Hamilton as a promising legacy for the city's industrial heritage. Many other scholars, however, worry that this focus on the Creative City may lead to displacement of the central city's vulnerable residents, many of whom are already suffering from issues such as precarious work conditions, increasing cost of living, and decreased social security. Over the last few years, the long depressed central city housing market has been steadily growing. Developers are showing a renewed interest in building hotels and condos, and businesses and retail are moving downtown (Russumanno, 2015). If these developments continue without corresponding investment in community building and social services for the low-income residents in the central city, it is possible that Hamilton will end up following Toronto's model of a gentrified inner city with a concentration of poverty in the inner suburbs that are poorly served by transit and other social and built infrastructure.

Conclusion

Hamilton has experienced many social, economic, and physical changes after the decline of heavy industry beginning in the 1970s. These changes have been partially motivated by socio-economic movements, and partially by municipal and provincial policies, aimed at implementing neoliberal ideas and post-industrialist visions for the city. While the late twentieth century saw failed strategies and a decline in the city centre, it seems that the post-industrial landscape that has been long-awaited by both planners and residents is finally manifesting itself. If proper social measures are not taken, however, this renewed interest in downtown Hamilton may disenfranchise its most vulnerable residents.

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Suburban and Small-Town Life: Linked by a Puritan Ethos in *Disneyland* and Gilmore Girls

Chantal Duchesne

Abstract

This paper explores the ideological connections between hyperreal cultural representations of small-town life in New England and post-war suburbanization during the 1940s and 1950s. Considering the ways in which Puritan values of social control have shaped amusement parks and television, it draws examples from the urban planning, social makeup, and government structures of Disneyland and the imaginary town of Stars Hollow (from the television show *Gilmore Girls*). By analyzing the influence of Puritan urban planning techniques and politics on Disneyland and Stars Hollow, this paper finds both problematic representations and a lack of complex depictions of people of colour. Ultimately, this paper determines that the Puritan desire for social homogeneity is a utopian dream—one that believes America should be devoid of difference to achieve happiness and security. This singular vision is reproduced in postwar and contemporary popular culture, supported by the recurring adoption of New England spatial (and in the case of *Gilmore Girls*, governmental) practices. Although *Gilmore Girls* attempts to complicate this narrow vision, both Disneyland and *Gilmore Girls* exemplify a Puritan ethos in their construction of fictional utopias.

Introduction

The American attraction to suburban living stems from a uniquely Puritan dream. During the "white flight" of the postwar period, in which droves of young, middle-class families left large American cities behind in search of home ownership in the decentralized urban region (Avila, 2004), Puritan values of social homogeneity provided the foundation for a rise in anti-Black and anti-feminist sentiment. After "racial and sexual barriers ... weakened within an ascendant urban liberalism that reached its zenith during the 1930s and 1940s" (Avila, 2004, p. 4), the 1950s saw the re-emergence of a desire by white Americans to gain control over the social makeup of their communities. This was a futuristic dream, in the sense that they sought to create a utopian city—but it was also deeply rooted in New England's history, since it stemmed from

a Puritanical denial of the racialized "other" and relied on participatory self-governance to turn it into reality. The dream of suburbia was so prevalent among whites that it was consciously reflected in popular culture, fuelling the rise of Walt Disney's media empire and the creation of Disneyland (Avila, 2004). However, the American desire to establish a hyperreal community—a pop culture-copy preferable to real American cities—can also be located in a more recent example of television: the show *Gilmore Girls,* set in the storybook town of Stars Hollow, Connecticut. *Gilmore Girls* subscribes to the American Dream in a specifically New England fashion (Buckman, 2010), demonstrating the widespread influence of this particular region's history on the rest of the country's values well into the 1950s, and even into the twenty-first century, through its depiction of an "imaginary utopian village" (Feuer, 2010, p. 148).

The Life of the New England Town-Square

The geographies of both *Gilmore Girls* and Disneyland rely heavily on Puritan modes of urban planning. The New England town square was the location of the "meetinghouse, cemetery, town's watch house, jail, and school" (Buckman, 2010, p. 138). Its central location made it a convenient place for governance, but it also played a larger role in social policing: in the town square, "one had to be ever vigilant of one's own conduct and behavior," explains Buckman (2010, p. 138). Designed around a central hub with the rest of the community branching off from it, Disneyland and Stars Hollow also emphasize the importance of a primary meeting place (Avila, 2004). In Disneyland, "the park's designers sought to maximize control over the movement of the crowd through the meticulous organization of space. The spatial organization ... reflected the designers' intentions to direct the continual movement of people with as little indecision as possible" (Avila, 2004, p. 13). The creators of Disneyland used the urban planning model of Puritan New Englanders to regulate visitors' behavior according to their own values. Despite Disney's location in California, it was designed to reproduce Puritan techniques of social control through public shaming. This was also the case in suburban communities such as Levittown, New York and Lakewood, California, where close-knit neighbourhoods helped restrict home ownership to white families (Avila, 2004).

In Stars Hollow, the town square serves as a public space in which community members socialize and celebrate an endless number of quirky town events. Rather than generate fear or anxiety amongst its townspeople, the visibility within Stars Hollow's town square fosters a

close sense of community. "When the camera goes outside it generally puts us on the streets of Stars Hollow, greeting passerby, witnessing eccentric behavior, or getting an earful of gossip from Babette, Miss Patty, or both," Buckman shares, "part of the fun associated with Stars Hollow is the sense that one really 'knows' the locals'" (2010, p. 135). Although Stars Hollow is, fictionally, a community planned by Puritans, the townspeople subvert the intentions behind the town's design by welcoming eccentricity. These two examples both draw from America's Puritan history with regard to urban planning, but they represent different versions of the American conception of freedom—whereas Stars Hollow welcomes difference, Disneyland seeks to contain it.

Race and Gender in Utopian Communities

Although the residents of Stars Hollow are far more diverse in character than the pilgrims were, their diversity doesn't extend to diversity of race, ethnicity, or culture. The racial makeup of Disneyland and Stars Hollow reflect Puritan values of social homogeneity. In both places, the characters are differentiated from an urban population in their overwhelming whiteness. Upon Disneyland's opening in 1955, the park reinforced a "figurative distinction between suburban whiteness and racial otherness" through its use of racial stereotypes, including "hostile Indians, [an] Aunt Jemima, and native savages" (Avila, 2004, p. 15). However, "the racial dimensions of the Disneyland experience surfaced not only in those places of the park where images of blacks and Indians prevailed but also where such images did not appear ... on "Main Street, USA, ... the absence of mammies, Indians, and savages reified Disney's racialized and deeply nostalgic vision of the American 'folk'" (Avila, 2004, p. 15). When people of colour are represented in *Gilmore Girls*, they are either portrayed as sidekicks, sources of comic relief, or "extras." For example, in *Gilmore Girls: A Year in the Life* (the show's recent Netflix revival), the main characters Michel and Lane are consistently portrayed as one-dimensional: Michel, a gay black man, is affectionately referred to by Lorelai as "my angry friend" (Sherman-Palladino, 2016) whose hilariously snide comments define his personality. Meanwhile, Rory's best friend Lane, a Korean-American woman, appears to exist solely for the purpose of listening to and supporting Rory. The American Dream of equality, which the show often promotes with regard to class, does not seem to apply to racial difference in Stars Hollow.

One area of identity in which *Gilmore Girls* appears far more progressive than Disneyland is in its portrayal of women in American

society. Whereas Disney privileged "an emphasis on patriarchal social relations and the centrality of the nuclear family" (Avila, 2004, p. 16) *Gilmore Girls* was ground-breaking when it first aired in 2000 because it portrayed a happy, successful single mother whose child, Rory, was the result of a teenage pregnancy. Rather than promote "cultural representations of domesticated housewives and stable nuclear families" (Avila, 2004, p. 15), *Gilmore Girls* shows "a clear contempt for the traditional role of women as guardians of the private sphere" (Avila, 2004, p. 8). It actually pays homage to the film noir tradition of the femme fatale: Lorelai Gilmore is nothing if not "sassy," "alluring," and in control (Avila, 2004, p. 8). The show fails, however, to take an intersectional approach to feminism in its refusal to depict more women of colour with speaking roles and proper character depth.

Place, Politics, and the Role of Participatory Government

The geographical contexts of Disneyland and *Gilmore Girls* mean that they are inherently political forms of popular culture. According to Avila, Walt Disney chose to locate his theme park in Orange County, California because it "sheltered a conservative populism that catapulted New Right ideologues such as Ronald Reagan into California's, and ultimately, the nation's, highest office" (Avila, 2004, p. 11). Whereas Californian notions of self-government inspired the likes of the Lakewood Plan, which relied on the exclusionary structure of local control (Avila, 2004), Disneyland simply imposes its plan for social control, thus embodying Puritan values of behavioral regulation; "*Gilmore Girls* attempts to visualize a type of town—located ideologically in the past but culturally in the present—in which the playing field between the rulers and the common folk is leveled through the device of the town meeting" (Feuer, 2010, p. 154). *Gilmore Girls* episodes regularly depict this Puritan practice, employing the region's history of participatory government as a means to a democratic, egalitarian end. As Feuer explains, "Throughout its seven seasons, *Gilmore Girls* … used actual portrayals of town meetings to convey its utopian ideology. Both the literal meetings and the events taking place on the town square grew into an expected part of the contemporary folklore propagated by the show" (Feuer, 2010, p. 153). In part, *Gilmore Girls* has such an ardent fan base because it re-appropriates Puritan values for the modern age, promoting the American Dream that the nation's political structures can be used to achieve true equality. For this reason, the show's utopian vision reads as less sinister than Disney's.

Whereas Disneyland reinforces racial and gender inequality through blatant practices of racism and misogyny, *Gilmore Girls* appears to support American values of equality and freedom even as it fails to subvert problematic representations (and omissions) of people of colour. In its optimistic take on the New England tradition of participatory government, it fails to acknowledge the racist real estate practices that render Stars Hollow almost entirely white. And by failing to acknowledge these power structures, it effectively pretends they don't exist. *Gilmore Girls'* utopian vision is both nostalgic and futuristic, because it subscribes to the utopian idea that traditional American democracy will create a safe, happy, and equitable future for all. It isn't anti-progressive in its use of participatory government, often turning town meetings into sources of comedy, but the show fails to overcome its own implicit bias. *Gilmore Girls* has more in common with Disney's vision than perhaps it intends to: the small, New England town of Stars Hollow is inextricably linked to the suburban ethos of the postwar period through its fundamentally American references to a Puritan way of life.

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Roles of Aesthetic and Emotional Labour in the Alienation of Service Workers: The Lens of the Waitress

Kathryn Glancy

Abstract

In service-oriented urban workspaces, the identity of women is used for the benefit of workplaces at their expense. The use of feminine bodies to sell products is culturally widespread throughout North America, and consistent through women's roles working in the service industry. The objectification of one's own body at work is inherently precarious, producing need for feminist theory in the consideration of urban labour laws. As serving jobs are characterized as both emotional and aesthetic, they become gendered as a result of pre-existing cultural gender roles that characterize women as better "caretakers". This intersection of gendered, aesthetic, and emotional labour creates unique experiences of alienation that women face while working in the service industry. Through the use of personal experiences and secondary sources, I outline how the alienation of one's body and self can damage their self-image, and, in conjunction with physical space and infrastructure, make jobs in the service industry precarious work.

I clear the plates from Table Six. My fingers tingle as the bottoms lightly burn the top layers of my skin. Their eyes follow my chest as I glide behind the bar to print their bill. I pour two waters while the paper prints from the register. I drop the bill off first. I am quick to leave the men at this table; they will try to hold my attention for as long as they can. Their gaze now traces the outline of the rest of my body as I shift over to the couple seated by the window. The glasses of water clink together as I set them onto the table. Condensation drips down each side of them. A bead of sweat drips down the back of my neck beneath my straightened hair. I envy the couple seated in front of me. I think of grabbing myself a glass of water and taking a break. This is a desire I cannot satisfy. This body belongs to the business: they rent it from me.

It is the intersection of emotional and aesthetic labour which constructs the archetypal waitress and puts increasing pressure on women in the service industry. Gender roles as rooted in patriarchal expectations characterize many women as being "naturally" caring and nurturing; as a result, many individuals characterized as feminine are

assumed to know how to support others and therefore should make good servers (Hall, 1993). In this work, I will discuss my own experiences waitressing, and how such experiences are shaped by gendered, aesthetic, and emotional labour. This contextualizes one way in which gendered labour can affect the individual in the urban setting. It should be noted that these experiences are not all-encompassing, but rather provide an example of how such gendered labour can affect individuals within the service industry.

Analyzing an individual's experiences working in service illuminates many negative experiences while on the job. Regarding my own experience working in service, such experiences have manifested as an alienation from both my physical and emotional self. I feel a loss of autonomy regarding how I present myself physically, as well as how I think, feel, and act. In addition, urban infrastructure, and lack of alternative employment, worsens these feelings of alienation.

In the restaurant industry, the role of women is both simultaneously crucial and fraught. The business relies on the consumer; and the consumer's satisfaction is contingent on the server's hospitality. Elaine Hall suggests that "to give service by waiting on tables is to perform work tasks typically cast as feminine," (1993, p. 329). Serving becomes an inherently gendered form of work since many employers would prefer to hire women as they are characterized as having caring personalities, which makes them better servers (Hall, 1993). As a woman in the industry, I do feel as though my body is used as a commodity: in the restaurant I am merely a physical tool to conduct work. My personal individuality becomes irrelevant. What matters is that I am able to look and act the part that the business desires of me. My body and emotional self at work is distinct from who I once was prior to working in the industry. But as the continuous acting begins to penetrate me outside of work, working in the business has lasting effects of alienation from myself. This reinforces Marx's theory of alienation: namely, the loss of autonomy and self by the worker under a capitalist system (Mészáros, 2006).

Accordingly, aesthetics are crucial to the construction of the archetypal waitress. My body must move fluidly throughout the restaurant; I must waltz from table to table, each hair on my head flowing gracefully behind, yet not too out of place. I must look pleasant, yet effortless. This act encompasses every part of my being. Emma Dowling discusses similar experiences writing: "I feel the multiple gazes of management, of the male and of the guest, fall upon me and bring me into existence, validat-

ing my body and its affective resonances," (2012, p. 109). Being the archetypal waitress is not just waiting tables, but looking the part that the business, the male and the consumer expect from you while on the job.

This bodily expectation is further reinforced in customer interaction. I notice this as I go to work with more makeup than usual. Waking up for my third double shift in a row is exhausting and I usually do not bother spending much time on my appearance on these days; however I know what the consequences will be if I do nt: I will lose income. Since I began as a waitress, I have noticed that my good hair days pay better than my bad ones. On days where I wear makeup and more revealing outfits I leave with my wallet fuller. How? It is all about the tips. I notice the excitement in the eyes of the men I serve on my "good looking" days. These are the same days the men seated at the bar will linger a little longer. They are the days they buy 5 beers instead of 4 and tip me 20% rather than 15%.

Studies show my observations are not unfounded; "more attractive" women are tipped higher (Lynn, 2009). Factors included in the consideration of "attractive" compare age, breast size, and Body-Mass Index. Further research illustrates that women who wore makeup were tipped much more generously by men, than when those same women did not wear makeup (Jacob, Gueguen, Boulbry, & Ardiccioni, 2010). The importance of my appearance is so entrenched in the job that it becomes a necessity to succeed. No one *makes* me put on makeup before my shift. I will not be sent home for looking "inappropriate," yet, when I do not look good for work, I feel that I am letting my boss down, that I am letting my customers down, and that I am letting myself down. I criticize myself when I write down the wrong order, or when I pour the wrong drink. Why would I not also criticize myself for failing to fulfil the role of the archetypal waitress?

My body has become so much a part of my waitressing toolbox that it no longer feels like my own; it is merely something I own. I use it to greet my customers and wish them a nice day. The restaurant uses it to bring orders from tables to the kitchen, and to ferry food back out to the tables. The restaurant and I work together to use it to turn as much profit as possible. My appearance is used to lure customers inside and keep them buying once they are here. I allow this to happen; studies suggest that "workers typically consent and embrace the stereotypes since their opportunities depend on their conformity to these managerial imaginings," (McDowell, 2012, p. 60). I consent to selling my appearance

to the customer and my employer as I conceive of an obvious benefit for each of us: by dressing myself in order to be pleasing to the customer, I improve the financial profit for both myself and the restaurant.

However, past a certain point, the mask of the waitress cannot be taken off. It attaches itself to the body that is no longer mine. It follows me to school; it follows me home. It embodies the eyeliner I feel I need to put on every day. It provokes me to glance at my reflection in every storefront window. My appearance is now my job. My body becomes property I have to keep in check. I am not just alienated from myself at work, but from myself at home. I must then question if any increase in profit is worth losing my sense of self. I look at my co-workers—these are not feelings that we all experience. To my perception, some are able to work without feeling as though they lose a piece of themselves in doing so; they love and embrace their work. Working in the industry may be outstanding and profoundly positive in some cases, but such is not my experience.

Being a waitress does not simply stop at work tasks and appearances; in fulfilling this role I must act the part as well. There is no restaurant where the "dinner and a show" mentality does not exist. For many waitresses, every dinner is a show. Emotional labour is another very important aspect of the job, and for me it is often the hardest part: "in emotional labour jobs, emotional displays are a matter of survival rather than personal choice as job security and pay are dependent on them" (Grandey, Rupp, & Brice, 2015, p. 770). As a waitress, I am required to tend to the customer's every need. I am the middle ground between them and every other part of the restaurant. Emotional capacity and kindness is at the root of my job; meanwhile, my own emotional needs must be suppressed in the process.

I begin acting as soon as I set one foot into the doorway of my place of work. The chef asks how my day has been. "Excellent as always," I respond. I wonder if my answers are too consistent: should I change the way I respond? Is my acting believable? This is not to say that I am never happy, but rather, to emphasize the relentless emotional control I must be prepared to conduct on my own body every time I go to work. My first customer of the day is a regular at the bar. He unloads all of his troubles on me. His dog has just died. I offer him my sympathies. My dog has also just died, but I cannot tell him. I keep my composure; a crack in my façade so early in the day will mean it will not last until closing.

A business wants every customer to feel that they are special; yet, at the same time, no one is special. The emotions of the customer are fragile, so I must insist on their own importance, while ensuring they do not notice the same importance of others as this could take away from their individuality. I must be careful in both my actions and words. I use the tricks other waitresses have passed on to me. These include a gentle brush of the customer's hand or shoulder when placing the cheque onto the table. But I must be careful that other tables do not notice. The light contact can be friendly, it can be flirty, it can be accidental—it almost always ends in a higher tip (Stephen, & Zweigenhaft, 1986). If I am caught, however, I am no longer a flirt—I am a floozy. I work between the precarious lines of service and secrecy. To be a good waitress I must give good service. To be the best waitress, I must give the best service, but I must make it individual. Each customer must think they are secretly my favourite. No customer or employer wants "good," when they can have the best.

Therefore, I act. I must separate my individuality from my personality and leave it at the door when I enter for work. The "bond" of customer and waitress can seldom be real. My job is to please them. To do so I must disassociate my sense of self from the job. I cannot tell a table of wine drinkers that I hate wine, like I cannot tell a table of meat eaters I do not eat meat. My personality must change as I move throughout the restaurant. I am careful to remember that while I am with the boys at the bar, I only drink beer. But when I serve the large table of ladies on the patio, margaritas are my favourite. "The requirement to produce a certain emotional climate may evoke emotional dissonance and impair one's sense of authenticity," (Erickson & Wharton, 1997, p. 191), and means I carry these feelings home with me after work. With each step I am further disconnected from myself. I now forget which beer is actually my favourite. Do I even hate wine as much as I remember? I consented to selling my body for the job, but I can not recall consenting to sell my mind.

Urban financial and employment precariousness further amplifies the alienation of me (the server) from myself. Taking into consideration the prohibitively high cost of living in Toronto specifically, maintaining employment is crucial. High rent and living expenses mean that leaving a job to look for other work is often not an option. In my case, finding a different job that will both pay enough to cover living expenses and will allow me to work outside of school hours is already very difficult. Quitting my job to look for another one in which I am more comfortable is too risky: what if I cannot find a new job fast enough?

How long before I do not have money to buy food? Planning for the up-coming weeks is already unpredictable in a serving job where tips often comprise the majority of total pay (Butler & Skipper, 1980). The pay is not consistent, and, therefore, unreliable, which makes a change in em-ployment nearly impossible until I can accrue more savings.

Furthermore, urban transportation makes working as a woman in the service industry even more challenging. I leave work at 1:00 a.m. on average. As I walk from work to the nearest transit stop, I feel a sense of uneasiness rise in my stomach. This unease is caused by both stories of violence against women on public transportation being passed around (Loukaitou-Sideris & Fink, 2009), and my own experiences of sexual ha-rassment. Considering that many women who work in the service indus-try are required to work late hours, travelling at night is almost inevi-table at some point in our careers. The feeling of danger that the urban nightscape invokes for many women is directly related to the workplace itself and its commuting obligations.

My alienation is further exacerbated by the combination of my employment with the urban setting; not only do I feel estranged from my work, but I am hyper-aware that the process of getting to work is not completely safe. Thus, the degree to which I feel my alienation is greater. At the same time as I feel I am robbed of my individuality in my employ-ment, the city robs me of my security. The lack of consideration for both the financial and physical safety of individuals from municipal institu-tions devalues my own existence in the urban setting. Financial support from the city, school, or community might mean I have more choice in my own work, while improvement to safety and public transportation might mean I feel safe and confident in getting to this work.

The service industry requires me to reconsider every element of myself. I wonder if my body looks good enough; I question to what de-gree my individuality is viable in my own workplace. The city makes me question whether or not such individuality is even important. These aes-thetic and emotional insecurities result in alienation, not only from my labour and workplaces, but from myself. Where do insecurities fit with-in the context of our workplaces? Do they fit within the urban realm? And where do they fit within the contexts of our lives? As I continue to perform labour in the service industry, I further understand how I am affected. My self at work and my self at home must be separate entities, as my self at work is a person with whom I am unfamiliar. Yet my wait-ress mask must be upheld so often that to separate it from myself seems

almost impossible. When the urban setting further isolates me, I can further understand how physical space plays a role in the experiences of service workers in the city. Therefore, until the intersection of space and labour is addressed in the context of emotional and aesthetic labour theories, the alienation and dissatisfaction of many female service workers will continue to be inevitable.

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Exploring Toronto's Creative Economy: The Film Industry

Adam Lieberman

Introduction

Each September, the City of Toronto hosts one of the largest publicly attended film festivals in the world. With hundreds of thousands in attendance each year, the Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF) marks Toronto as a key destination in the film industry. This paper analyzes current industry statistics, in comparison to the world's largest film production centre, Los Angeles, California. I propose that the growth of the film sector in Toronto over recent decades illustrates the increasing importance of creative industries within the global economy. At the same time, I contend that the growth seen within Toronto's film sector is not, however, reflective of the growth in the number of films *produced* within the country. This paper's approach differs from existing analyses in that previous literature has focused on either the concept of creative cities industries in general (Flew, 2010), or the specifications of Toronto as a film centre, that is, what does Toronto's film cluster consist of? (Vang & Chaminade, 2007; Kredell, 2012). Beginning with an assessment of current industry employment, expenditures, and gross domestic product (GDP), I depict the significance of Toronto's film industry at a national level. Through this analysis, as well as the consultation of various scholarly works, the questions of "why are creative cities creative?" and "why do creative cities matter?" are addressed.

I. Industry Statistics

The Toronto film industry has seen exponential growth since first becoming an item on the municipal government's agenda. When the state of arts and culture in Toronto was assessed in 1974 (Silcox, 1974), only a single recommendation was made towards the city's film industry, placed at the bottom of the list (Kredell, 2012). Since then, however, Toronto's film sector has come to play a major part of the city's economy. When TIFF was initially launched, CEO and Director Piers Handling had a goal to "put Toronto on the map as a film production centre" (De Vynck, 2016). Through an analysis of the current state of arts and culture in Toronto, this goal has arguably been met. The City of Toron-

to last assessed the statistics regarding employment, expenditures, and GDP within its film and television sectors in 2014. According to these statistics, the Toronto film industry directly employs over 25,000 people (ACTRA Toronto). Investments have been increasing each year, with expenditures in 2014 meeting a record $1.2 billion, marking the fourth consecutive year that spending has exceeded $1 billion (City of Toronto, 2015). Toronto also noted a 4.3% increase in spending from the previous year ($1.18 billion reported in 2013). Finally, the film and television sector is reported as having accounted for $20.4 billion in GDP (ACTRA Toronto). While these numbers help demonstrate the size, scale, and growth of Toronto's film industry, they do not consider whether it is foreign or domestic production that has accounted for them—a question which I shall examine later in section III. When analyzing this growth, it is important to consider these local statistics on a larger scale, in order to situate Toronto within a larger, global economy.

II. A Case Study of Los Angeles

While the recent growth of the Toronto film industry is certainly significant, the Los Angeles entertainment industry has historically been regarded as the Entertainment Capital of the World (LACEDC, 2012, p. 3). According to the Los Angeles County Economic Development Corporation (LACEDC), the sector employed nearly 162,000 wage and salary workers in 2011 (LACEDC, 2012). The motion picture and video-related sectors account for majority of the industry's employment, with a reported 117,841 jobs, and payroll totaling $11.3 billion (LACEDC, 2012. p. 4). The report also notes that the industry also employs over 85,000 freelance professionals and other independent contract workers (LACEDC, 2012). This supports the notion that Los Angeles' entertainment industry not only provides jobs, but also serves as a crucial factor within the city's economic engine. That is, while the industry makes a significant contribution to the local economy through the proceeds from sales of movie tickets, videos, and other programming, these transactions create a ripple effect across many different employment sectors in Los Angeles. Businesses that supply the entertainment industry create auxiliary jobs such as caterers, florists, and custodial staff, and are considered by the report to be jobs indirectly created by the entertainment sector (LACEDC, 2012. p. 2). Thus, the LACEDC reports its entertainment industry being responsible for an estimated 586,000 jobs, yielding over $43 billion in labour income, and over $120 billion in annual output (LACEDC, 2012. p.2). This is equal to 8.4% of LA's estimated GDP ($558 billion) (LACEDC, 2012. p. 2).

These numbers are extremely large, relative to those of Canada. Ontario, and specifically Toronto, however, remains a substantially important film centre for numerous reasons. First, through an analysis of statistics regarding employment, expenditures, and GDP within the Toronto film industry, increases can be noted across each field in recent years (City of Toronto, 2015; ACTRA Toronto). Based on these facts, as well as the continued projected growth of the sector (De Vynck, 2016), the Toronto film industry can undoubtedly be deemed a major driver of the city's economic output. With this in mind, a critical factor necessary to consider is the notion of the film industry as a creative one. Several urban scholars have written about this idea. For the purposes of this paper, I will be analyzing works that specifically pertain to Toronto's film industry, in order to provide both a cultural and historical context for what is now an integral part of Toronto's culture.

III. Urban Scholarship on Toronto Film

Brenden Kredell illustrates the recent progress in the size and stature of Toronto's film industry in his 2012 work on municipal cultural policy in contemporary Toronto. His main argument states that the heightened visibility of Toronto's film industry can be seen as the result of the increasingly dominant discourse of "instrumentality" (Kredell, 2012, p. 22). This closely relates to the concept that creativity within the city has become a key driver of economic output, an area also explored by Terry Flew (2010). In his work, Flew illustrates the importance of creative industries for urban development. He submits that these industries are not supply-driven—they do not thrive on a traditional "input" and "output" of products, but rather, the churning of ideas)—and place cities within a ranking of higher cultural and economic production (Flew, 2010, p. 88). Flew also agrees that creative industries have become especially prominent in recent decades (2010, p. 85). The film industry is no exception, with creativity being a driving factor of its production. Flew's thinking that creativity has come to be the foundation of innovation, and that innovation is the new primary driver of economic growth (2010, p. 86), supports Kredell's (2012) argument that the government's increased support for the arts in Toronto is indicative of broader determinants of the city's contemporary economy. These two scholars, in addition to the statistics outlined in the previous section, illustrate that Toronto's contemporary economy is in large part a creative one. At the same time, other urban scholars have debated the authenticity of the Toronto film industry as a creative centre through analyses of Toronto's global-local relationship with Los Angeles (Vang & Chaminade, 2007).

Jan Vang and Christina Chaminade (2007) critique Toronto's film cluster as being inherently tethered to Hollywood. In their arguments, they contend that Toronto's expansion of its film industry has been primarily suited towards serving as a platform for "Hollywood runaways," rather than as an independent, indigenous, feature film cluster (Vang & Chaminade, 2007, p. 403). This is interesting to consider as Brendan Kredell (2012) is a major proponent of discussing the prominence of film within Toronto's culture, but does not explicitly state whether it is the aspects of film production, or an overall acceptance and support for the industry, that have become prioritized. Vang and Chaminade (2007) believe it to be the latter. This point, however, is negated by a consultation of global-local linkages. By looking at Los Angeles's film industry's statistics, it is clear that Toronto, and Canada in general, does not nearly measure up to the standards set in Los Angeles, but nonetheless, has shown a significant amount of progress over the last four decades (City of Toronto, 2015). Vang and Chaminade argue that while the film industry in Toronto is growing, it has struggled to develop indigenous, independent feature films. They support this claim with data from the Ontario Media Development Corporation (OMDC), and by calculating the percentages of various types of production that account for Ontario's film industry (Vang and Chaminade, 2007). Domestic feature films represent only 6% of Ontario's film production, while foreign feature films account for nearly 20%.

Vang and Chaminade's (2007) understanding of the disparity between Toronto's domestic and foreign production comes from the breakdown of the value-chain of the film industry. Evidently, under the current framework, when a foreign film is produced in Toronto, the city has few opportunities for Hollywood's extensive movie-making expertise to "spill over". That is, when American studios produce a film in Toronto, most of the culture-rich processes of production are actually kept in –or sourced from– Hollywood. Directors, lead actors, lead technicians, and the like are rarely native to Toronto. This has resulted in the lack of development in Toronto's indigenous feature film sector that Vang and Chaminade (2007) describe (p. 403).

IV. The City as a Catalyst for Creativity

Louis Wirth (1938) argues that as urbanization progresses, increased emphasis is placed on working in groups, as opposed to working as individuals. This argument dates back to an even older work by Alfred Marshall (1890), who links the importance of close physical proximity

to specialization. No matter the advances in technology, as long as films are still being shot with a crew of specialized workers, knowledge will always be spread through geographic association. If Hollywood were to begin outsourcing or offshoring its major films to Toronto, there would be a much greater chance of an indigenous feature film cluster being established there as a result of knowledge exchange and diffusion.

The concept of strong versus weak ties is one that closely relates to this situation. Wirth (1938) explains that those who live in the city depend on a greater number of people (i.e., social networks) to have their life-needs met than those living in rural areas. Therefore, urban workers are usually associated with a larger number of groups, and less dependent on certain individuals or relationships (Wirth, 1938, p. 12). In the case of the film industry, this case is amplified by the fact that most work is contractual or precarious (Bailey, 2015). That is, someone who works in the film industry might experience months on end with no opportunity for work, depending on the number of projects going on in their province or state (Bailey, 2015). For this reason, the need for a large network of contacts to "get you in the door" is greater when working in the film industry. Surprisingly, acquaintance-level contacts have been found to be more likely to offer an individual a job, as opposed to someone they are close with (Granovetter, 1973). The reason being that strong relationships create what Granovetter refers to as "bonding ties" (1973, p. 1364). In these types of relationships, the transfer of similar or overlapping knowledge in regards to potential connections and opportunities is quite common. This is because it is much more likely for people who know each other well to be part of the same social networks. In this case, there is little chance that one person will have any significant contacts that the other does not already know. Granovetter (1973) argues that it is in reality the weaker relations, or "bridging ties," that allow for the indirect exchange of information across multitudes of people, as it is in these instances that two separate social networks are able to connect.

Finally, upon introducing the need for more "weak ties" in the City of Toronto, comes the argument for creativity as an economic driver of success. As Canada's largest city, Toronto and its surrounding area is home to over 5.5 million people as of 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2011). With a population density of 945 persons per square kilometre, compared to average of all the other census metropolitan areas (CMAs) of 250, the odds of daily interaction become exponentially higher when living and working in Toronto. Urban thinker Jane Jacobs (1969) shares many of the views of both Marshall and Wirth. However, Jacobs (1969) explicit-

ly specifies the unique role of urbanism within economic development. Upon pointing out that the everyday activities such as getting people to work, moving goods around, and disposing of trash, are done in largely inefficient and overly-consumptive manners within an urban setting, at least relative to rural areas, Jacobs explains that it is precisely this aspect of cities that makes them "uniquely valuable to economic life" (Jacobs, 1969, p. 86). One major idea she introduces is that within the city, the possibility of someone being able to radically change their place in society from that of their parents is increased, as opposed to in rural areas where it is much more likely for one to adopt the previously established social standing of their parents (Jacobs, 1969, p. 102). This illustrates another argument for the notion of increased diversity within cities.

Conclusion

I have shown that filmmaking, as a creative industry in Toronto, now plays a major role within the city's economy. Increases within the Toronto film industry's employment, expenditures, and GDP can all be noted through an analysis of recent statistics from the field. As such, the landmark festival, TIFF, is a strong indicator of the city's progress and success as a film centre. Upon the consultation of several related works, I argued that Toronto's film industry has struggled with the development of its own indigenous film cluster due to a lack of major productions being produced in the city. Ultimately, regardless of whether the majority of Toronto's films are foreign or domestically produced, the increase in critical economic indicators within the city's film industry indicates its emergence both as a creative industry, as well as a significant economic asset. In the future, the main driver of Toronto's film sector will likely be the advance of technology. In this regard, Piers Handling has commented on an "evolution" of TIFF, envisioning that films will be brought to a wider range of audiences, outside the theatre (Wong, 2016). In an era of emerging technological innovation, Toronto's film sector as a creative industry could very well be on track for a starring role in the city's economy.

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Reconceptualizing Revitalization as Recolonization: Contextualizing the Plurality of Displacement in Toronto Community Housing

Grace Sakoma

Introduction

In relation to the Toronto Community Housing's (TCH) first revitalization project, Don Mon Court, Kipfer and Petrunia coined the term "recolonization" as a neoliberal state tool of control and coercion, used to colonize, manipulate, and rebrand historically stigmatized public and social housing properties (2009, p. 121, 131). Under the largely unquestioned, and false, pretense of "social mix," the fallacy of revitalization's trickle-down, rub-off benefits, where lower-income residents may accrue social benefits from interacting with a higher-income echelon, are continuously promoted through policy (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Lees, 2008). Through the plurality of displacement-induced gentrification exhibited by TCH, social mix acts as an ideological smokescreen for recolonization (Murray, 2014). While Suttor reveals TCH represents a shrinking proportion of Toronto's affordable rental housing capacity (2015), according to critical gentrification research, shrinking, diminishing, or replacing the existing pool of rent-geared-to-income units constitutes a form of exclusionary displacement (Shaw & Hagemans; Slater, 2006). Distinct from colonization, recolonization emphasizes the original intent of land designated as public housing through slum clearance and urban renewal, while accounting for the power imbalance between the City of Toronto, which owns the land, and its original tenants–some who have inhabited these spaces for over thirty years. Reconceptualizing revitalization as recolonization allows us to unravel the political processes enabling and disguising displacement-induced gentrification.

The first section of this paper contextualizes TCH and its erasure of critical gentrification research. The second section theorizes the plurality of displacement-induced gentrification exhibited by TCH, as displacement takes shape differently through TCH projects. The third section typifies intersectional nodes of power and oppression facilitating state-led gentrification and the plurality of displacement. Finally, the fourth section highlights the mediating role of citizen participation for moderating the effects of social housing gentrification. By synthesizing displacement processes throughout TCH's current community revital-

ization projects, such as Don Mon Court, Regent Park, Alexandra Park, and Lawrence Heights, this essay will address the question: how does revitalization mask the processes and effects of recolonization?

I. TCH and the Erasure of Critical Gentrification Research

Revitalization is the neoliberal response to the tenants living under TCH's $2.6 billion capital repair backlog demanding better housing conditions. Recolonization relies on unjustly displacing lower-income, racialized, and stigmatized tenants, where the capital repair backlog manifests as a socially inequitable climate for Toronto's economically disadvantaged households. As inner city locations receive systematic disinvestment, the false choice of class transformation is imbued under the neoliberal guise of no other plausible alternatives to decay and disinvestment (Slater, p. 745-753). As Slater pens in "The Eviction of Critical Perspectives From Gentrification Research," de-problematizing the erosion of affordable housing and displacement is vital to the "embourgeoisement of central city locations," (2006, p. 737-739); certain interests are being served when the word "gentrification" is erased or isn't used on the TCH's revitalization platform, as "gentrification" can be seen as a dirty word, when it captures extensively the class remake of its communities (Slater, 2006, p. 752). As Lees conveys such social mix policies disguise a hidden "*social cleansing agenda*" (2008, p. 2451; emphasis added). According to Toronto Community Housing's (2016a) website, the anticipated tenant-to-market resident occupation rate post-revitalization transitions neighbourhoods from roughly 90% rent-geared-to-income (RGI) tenants to: a 28% tenant to 72% market resident occupation rate in Regent Park, a 34% tenant to 66% market resident occupation rate in Alexandra Park, and a 22% tenant to 78% market resident occupation rate in Lawrence Heights. Throughout these communities, 4,297 RGI units (27%) will be constructed in contrast to 11,842 market units (73%). While this revitalization platform is publicly touted as processes driven by tenant activism and organization, TCH aims to "dilute" the "concentration of poverty" at each of its revitalization projects (Dempsey, 2011), built on land owned by the city established to provide housing to diverse households since inception.

While social mix promises to reverse the effects of segregation and isolation netted through industrialization, suburbanization, and urbanization, Lees implies gentrification-induced social mixing is a misnomer, as gentrification causes polarization and segregation (2008). An overwhelming amount of local and international literature on gentrifi-

cation attribute relationships in communities engineered to be social-
ly mixed as tectonic (Mazer and Rankin, 2010; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015;
Lees, 2008); the existing benefits and supportive networks that low-in-
come residents possess are threatened by the isolation and segregation
pervading displacement (Lees, 2008; see also August, 2014a for a Regent
Park specific example). When differing socioeconomic groups are juxta-
posed, the new middle class may self-segregate, conferring a voyeuristic
and appropriative relationship to difference (Lees, 2008; further com-
ments on threats posed by social mix are further discussed in Dempsey,
2011). While tenants and owners may cross paths, meaningful interac-
tion is limited; it would be naïve to assume people from different social
and class backgrounds and incomes will automatically mingle, integrate,
or assimilate (Lees, 2008).

II. Social mix as Recolonization: TCH's Plurality of Displacement

Blomley asserts dispossession acts as a disciplinary regime,
where settlers acquire land traditionally held by indigenous or original
inhabitants; displacement is an incomplete practice, where original in-
habitants are conceptually removed using spatial technologies of power,
and white settlers are concomitantly emplaced. (Blomley, 2004); follow-
ing the historical deprivation of essential services, a spatial narrative of
slum-liness is engendered, and dislocation and destruction are claimed
as the inevitable solution, with the redesign of urban space as its ulti-
mate goal (Nelson, 2002); Nelson reiterates a chain of evictions, burials
and denials underpins revitalization processes in disinvested spaces
(2002). The concealed nature of dispossession, displacement and disen-
franchisement are quintessential to the construction of urban colonial
spaces; Walks maintains theoretically and strategically emplacing the
discourse of revitalization while concealing or diminishing mechanisms
of displacement contributes to the city's overall trend towards exacer-
bating socioeconomic polarization (2012).

Inasmuch, multiple, potentially overlapping forms of displace-
ment exist, in different TCH revitalization scenarios. Drawing from Shaw
& Hagemans (2015): *direct displacement* can be natural or forced, caused
by eviction, the end of one's lease, or force; *indirect displacement* occurs
through exclusion, such as exclusionary displacement, where properties
and spaces previously inhabited by low-income inhabitants are no lon-
ger available to low-income tenants as they become gentrified; *neigh-
bourhood resource displacement* occurs when out-of-place-ness increases
for neighbourhood residents, as access to neighbourhood services and

resources changes; *community displacement* entails changes in neighbour-hood governance and place identity (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). The extent to which displacement occurs within TCH's revitalization projects varies substantially, as the political climate fluctuates over the years. These forms of displacement work synchronously to facilitate revital-ization. First, undesirable tenants from stigmatized communities face direct displacement, and all tenants are dispossessed directly, indirect-ly, temporarily, or permanently from their original residences. Next, communities, market owners, architects, and city council work together create a new vision including place-branding strategies for revitalized communities, yet, unequal power relations permeate the political rep-resentation. Community displacement comes into effect when the struc-ture of local governance begins to change, and, whether tenants have the right to stay put, be displaced nearby, or be relocated far away. As neighbourhoods are gentrified, neighbourhood resource displacement is intensified as access to familiar spaces and activities are no longer fea-sible (McKnight, 2014 discusses the difficulty of access to Regent Park resources after revitalization).

August exemplifies the discrepancy between social mix in policy and practice; at Don Mon Court, TCH's first revitalization project, under-lying issues of political representation, symbolism, place-branding, seg-regation, stigmatization and vulnerability came into effect, rather than the presumed benefits of moral regulation expected to be espoused onto social housing tenants (August, 2014b). Murray highlights bio-power as quintessential to place-making during revitalization, where the demand for high-skilled labour accompanies neoliberal reforms reinforcing pri-vatization, deregulation, self-reliance, and marketization; individuals deemed disruptive or disorderly are controlled and coerced away, while production brings spaces into visibility and vulnerability (2014); poverty and disadvantage are institutionally embedded to justify and naturalize inequitable processes; and gendered, racialized, and classed narratives deem populations at risk for sub-optimal development (Murray, 2014). Murray terms this as a vulnerability bio-value chain, where the removal of original inhabitants from central to peripheral spaces relies on the "disparate logic of extrication and embedding," naturalizing and main-taining poverty (2014, p. 277–278).

III. Interlocking Systems of Power and Oppression

Slater imparts class transformation is best understood as a multi-faceted process; gentrification is an expression of urban inequal-ity, requiring an ambidextrous, holistic approach to dismantling its

claims and effects (2006). Similarly, Razack conveys understanding the dialectical relationship between bodies and space requires un-mapping the ways in which multiple systems of domination come into existence; space should be understood through interlocking systems of oppression (2002). In this regard, direct displacement, indirect displacement, neighbourhood resource displacement, and community displacement reinforce the racialized spatial reconfiguration of urban spaces. While not all gentrifiers moving into the TCH's revitalized communities will be white, the imposition of long-term paramilitary police interventions in gentrifying communities ultimately facilitates private and social housing market reform. Recolonization acts as an intermediate between social and private housing market reform, where shrinking social housing enables neighbourhood gentrification and neighbourhood resource displacement to coexist, thus increasing land values and profitability for the city. What is vital to revitalization as recolonization is the erasures and remaking of racialized spaces, where pre-existing socio-spatial relationships between tenants throughout revitalized TCH communities represented strength in diversity of race, class, and ability, with strong networks and tenant activism initially prompting tenants to demand access to better housing.

Revitalization facilitates recolonization through state policy reform promoting social mix, historically embodying a hidden social cleansing agenda (Lees, 2008), thus enabling the plurality of displacement to perform. Local government interventions regarding the management of public order acts in the interest of middle-class residents, where existing residents are formally managed "as a condition and consequence of gentrification" (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p. 229-333). Direct displacement began as TCH buildings were considered as being within "Priority Neighbourhoods" warranting targeted police interventions criminalizing racialized space. Meanwhile, undesired tenants exhibiting "anti-social behaviours" were evicted from the TCH and its revitalization process. Furthermore, the popular media exacerbated stigmatization, giving rise to such nicknames as "The Jungle," based on the reputation of Lawrence Heights. Considering the emerging discourse on diluting concentrations of poverty, unsurprisingly, the Regent Park revitalization programme began by promising to maintain a 60-40 ratio between owners and tenants (Lorinc, 2013), where a shrinking 72-28 owner-to-tenant ratio currently exists. While the media praise a stipulation in tenants' leases stating their right to return to the site, evidently, during Phase Three of the revitalization, this is stipulation is no longer included (Levy, 2015); furthermore, tenants temporarily relocated into new TCH

units nearby, and initially guaranteed the right to return in their leases, may be refused (Lubao, 2013)—the TCH is betting on fewer original tenants wanting to go through another move back. Alexandra Park's original platform of "Zero Displacement" proved to be questionable as tenants are displaced throughout the city during its revitalization—in fact, comments were made about the inevitability of displacement during demolition (Friesen, 2011; specifically Ms. Maita's comments). While the Lawrence Heights revitalization platform promises that all tenants have the right to remain onsite during its lengthy revitalization process, each neighbourhood experiences unique levels of neighbourhood resource and community displacement, as previously discussed. As Murray stipulates the knowledge enabling social mix as an authoritative policy discourse should be deconstructed as violent processes of displacement and dispossession underpin recolonization (2014).

IV. The Mediating Role of Citizen Participation

One recently contested iteration of the TCH's social cleansing agenda is the approved sale of the TCH's standalone homes. As mentioned previously, the TCH's tenants' associations initiated the call for better housing, maintenance, and accountability, as tenant organizations burgeoned in the 1970s, such as the Regent Park Residents' Association and the Alexandra Park Residents' Association. Similarly, the Tenants for Social Housing (T4SH) coalesced in 2007, in order to hold TCH accountable for issues such as bed bugs and its backlog of repairs (Sakoma and O'Neil, 2016). Yet, when the TCH proposed selling off standalone homes throughout its portfolio, notifying tenants of their impending evictions, T4SH shifted its organizational capacity, bridging tenants' concerns with city officials, under the banner of We Are Not For $ale (Sakoma and O'Neil, 2016). After months of consulting with over a hundred community organizations, including T4SH, the Mayor's Task Force on Toronto Community Housing adversely approved the sale of 158 stand-alone homes (TCH, 2016b). The task force's sixth recommendation requests legislative changes to negotiating social mix in social housing, reducing social housing communities from being 90% RGI households to 70% market owners over time (Mayor's Task Force, 2016), representing a significant shift in the cultural and material representation embedded in TCH communities (Paradis, 2016). Considering the calculated market resident occupation rates calculated in Part one at Regent Park (72%), Alexandra Park (66%), and Lawrence Heights (78%), the future of displacement remains pervasive as certain tenants may or may not have the right to remain in, or return to, their original housing communities.

As Paradis advises, this epitomizes how "institutional processes seek to pre-determine and shape tenants' input and how tenants resist these practices both discursively and materially" (2016; August, 2016, discusses further TCH tenants' resistance to co-option and the limitations of meaningful participation). As tenant organizations lobby for better housing conditions and approach TCH through community consultations, tenants work to resist TCH's pre-meditated agenda, such as rubberstamping community participation. Tenant organizations and associations remain flexible to the demands of tenants throughout the city, making strides towards improving the liveability of TCH. Following Heather O'Neil of T4SH, tenants' organizations would find strength in coalescing, thus amplifying their resources and successes in bringing meaningful participation to the table (Sakoma and O'Neil, 2016). This would create a platform to address many other problems O'Neil identified throughout social housing units, such as dilapidation, issues of under-housing and over-housing, and dwindling tenant participation, thus allowing tenants to see themselves reflected in all issues.

Evidently, middle class newcomers would be dispossessing tenants at the TCH's stand-alone homes; such has been a concern for tenants and advocates for equitable housing in the city (See Walks, 2012); TCH tenants staying put in adjacent buildings, however, also experience community and neighbourhood displacement. This postmodern ideological shift in social housing policy differentiates urban renewal from urban revitalization, where the first attempts at socially engineering prioritized housing needs, while the second endeavors to reinforce the importance of the urban economy (Lees, 2008), resonating with the mythological, environmentally determinist, and stigmatizing discourses which transitioned slums into public housing. In addition, under this scheme, the creative classes are notably privileged in our increasingly socioeconomically polarized city. Thus, social mix should be deconstructed as a solution, as it treats the symptoms of equality and not its underlying causes; Lees emphasizes economically assimilationist explanations should be dismissed, as they rely on the faulty assumption that working-class tenants want the same status, or cultural and social behaviours as the middle class (Lees, 2008). Then, an equity-centred approach to urban studies should centre the experiences of those at risk of dispossession, as the diffusion of power and knowledge makes the histories of subjugated populations invisible.

Conclusion

We need to create new ways of evaluating and operationalizing revitalization. Recolonization fabricates stigmatizing narratives against tenants, and offers a bandage solution to disinvestment and dilapidation. We need to centre the histories of TCH tenants and tenant advocacy; these lived realities are quintessential to the issue, considering their ongoing capacity to resist the disenfranchising practices of this nation's largest affordable housing provider. An equity-based approach in understanding urban processes places RGI tenants at the forefront of disguised displacement processes, and empowers a critical standpoint, capable of demystifying and debunking gentrification, revitalization, and social mix, based on the lived experiences of those vulnerable to dispossession and displacement. Maintenance is persistently lacking and still an issue for tenants relocated throughout and post-revitalization (See Levy, 2015)—for example, who is responsible for maintenance and repairs in revitalized units?

Revitalization is the only fiscally attainable *proposed* resolution for Toronto Community Housing, after years of unanswered calls to the federal and municipal governments to contribute their share in maintaining affordable housing (notably Councillor Adam Vaughan's comments in Spurr, 2012). Revitalization needs adaptation, to disentangle itself from recolonizing spaces, and to increase TCH's capacity to maintain affordable housing under federal, provincial and municipal commitments. Even when gentrification without displacement is set forth as a policy objective, careful attention should be paid to existing neighbourhood resources and conditions maintaining collective security such as formal and informal resident associations and organizations. Finally, ramifications for residents who question their right to remain or return to revitalized communities should be critically considered, as all affordable income households have the human right to adequate housing.

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        Electronic Library.

About Our Contributors

Labiba Chowdhury is a recent graduate from Victoria College at the University of Toronto. Although she has many interests across disciplines, Labiba majored in Urban Studies with minors in Sociology and Philosophy. Within the broad umbrella of urban studies, Labiba's research interests have centred on Housing and Public Policy. She is currently working for the Treasury Board Secretariat of Ontario.

Chantal Duchesne is a recent graduate of the University of Toronto, where she specialized in English and contributed to several student publications. Her literary interests include contemporary fiction and feminist texts that explore issues of identity, history, and how individuals relate to their social and physical environments. She currently works in Student Life Communications at the University of Toronto, where she connects with students outside of the classroom. She plans to pursue a career in publishing or communications.

Kathryn Glancy is a fourth year student majoring in Geography and minoring in Urban Studies. She is currently working in and studying women's issues, with a focus on housing and social issues in Toronto.

Adam Lieberman is a fourth year undergraduate student at the University of Toronto. He is pursuing a double major in Urban Studies and Health Studies. Over the course of his degree, he has demonstrated an interest in the topics of fitness, population health, and Canadian health policy. Upon graduating, Adam plans to continue studying at the University of Toronto, pursuing a Master's degree in the field of Exercise Science. Outside of the classroom, Adam leads the University of Toronto Bodybuilding Club, teaching fellow students about the sport of bodybuilding. Through this group, Adam is able to introduce his peers to the relationship he has held in the highest regard throughout his studies: the balance between exercise and mental health.

Grace Sakoma is entering her fourth and final year of studies, with a double major in Urban and Equity Studies, and a minor in Sociology. As a Black woman raised throughout Montreal's lower-income housing neighbourhoods, she concentrates on systemic housing and planning inequalities, pursuing her lifelong dream of renovating low-income housing, and bringing Canada's low-income rental housing stock to a healthy, habitable, discrimination-free standard. While rehabilitating from full body injuries sustained from a bike fall, she aims to write and publish more on urban equity issues, and will be applying to the Master's in Urban Planning and Development program at UofT.

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Contributors

Labiba Chowdhury
Chantal Duchesne
Kathryn Glancy
Adam Lieberman
Grace Sakoma

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